/27 cont./

## 6. Dress and Ornament

291 a) Hip cords and belts

From the age of four on both sexes constantly wear a hip cord -- nhamaaxí -- which is made by the women, but occasionally also by men, out of curauá fibers, the original material (see p. 55 ), or out of cotton. For the former, two strands are twisted to the right, and for the latter, to the left. The old technique of the right twist in the working of curauá fibers was thus retained, in spite of the adoption of cotton. There is, however, a further important difference. Whereas the hip cord of cotton represents the everyday dress, so to speak, /28/ the one made out of curauá fibers is at present used almost solely for ceremonial purposes.

All male Surára and Pakidái tie the penis up by means of the hip cord, which is done before donning it by tying a knot and drawing the foreskin through it.

With the hip cord these Indians feel clothed, and they therefore never take it off, not even for sleeping or bathing. Once when I was out hunting with the war chief of the Pakidái, Poréhiwö, he happened to tear his hip cord. He modestly stepped behind the nearest tree immediately and tied it together again. Later he told me that it would be the most flagrant offense against good form to walk about without the hip cord. The women would then cover their faces and scream loudly. Hence a man may never appear with his penis hanging down, and it would be a positively execrable crime, which is punished by blows, if he exposed his glans to the eyes of women and girls.

This shows that among the Surára and Pakidái the hip cord in general, for women and girls also use it without covering anything with it, and the tying up of the penis in particular are associated with feelings of propriety (137). I am herewith able to

137. The hip cord is never used as a device for carrying utilitarian articles, as Baldus noted, for example, among the Tapirapé

/29 cont./
291 and ridiculous (152) (153) (154).
171
174

152. Nimuendajú, 1914, pp. 321/22.

153. Becher, 1951, I, pp. 180/81;
II, plate and Map No. 18.

154. Becher, 1955, pp. 144/45.

292 On festival and ceremonial occasions, men, women, and
[192] children from the age of four on also tie over the hip cord a cotton belt -- nyõ -- (155), which is always open in front. As

155. It is the same word that is used to designate the cotton hammock.

a rule, the belts are made by the women; bachelors, however, must make their own.
[171] These are the string belts typical for Guiana (156) (157),

156. Becher, 1951, I, p. 169.

157. Becher, 1955, p. 138.

which, however, take on an appearance somewhat different from the familiar form because of wrappings or cross-bindings.
/Fig. 6 appears here./
292 All the men's and boys' belts are roll-shaped and have a
284 length of 70-80 centimeters and 40-50 centimeters, respectively. The diameter for the former is 4-5 centimeters, and for the latter, 2-3 centimeters. They are very simple to make, for around two small sticks thrust into the ground, the distance between them determining the length of the belt, a long cotton thread is looped until a thick layer is finally obtained. This is then simply tightly wound with a thin string of cotton or

/29 cont./

292 curauá fibers at /30/ /Fig. 7 appears here/ intervals of 1.5-2 284 centimeters for men's belts and 0.5-1 centimeter for boys' belts, which produces bulges and grooves. Before the belt is slipped off the sticks, a small, two to five-strand twisted cord of cotton or curauá fibers is drawn through the openings and knotted into a loop by means of the two ends three to five centimeters long. These two loops are twisted into each other in front, over the abdomen, by the wearer, and the knots keep the belt secure (Fig. 6a and b, Ill. 23). After [531] they are finished, serpentine [386] lines, circles, or dots are painted on these belts with urucú, for which a small stick is used; often, however, they are colored red all over.

Fig. 6a
Men's belt, detail.

Fig. 6b
Men's belt, diagram.

292 184 Among the Waiká, Zerries found the same men's belts (158),

158. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

and from the photographs in other publications of this author it may be seen that they are worn in the same way as among the Surára and Pakidái (159) (160).

159. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

160. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

Surára
Pakidái

/30 cont./

292
284

Fig. 7a
Young men's belt, detail.

Fig. 7b
Young men's belt, diagram.

Among the Surára and Pakidái, besides the men's and boys' belts, there is another special kind for young men, made with a plaiting technique. They are started in the manner described above, but after the layer of cotton is obtained, it is divided into two equally thick bundles which are tightly wound, alternately, at intervals of 1-1.5 centimeters. The belt therefore consists of two adjacent thin rolls of cotton, each two centimeters in diameter (Fig. 7a and b). Tie-strings and the wearing style correspond to the men's and boys' belts, as does the painting.

Women's and girls' belts are characterized by a wide, flat shape. The lengths vary between 55-70 centimeters and the widths between 6-8 centimeters for women's belts and 35-46 centimeters and 4-5 centimeters, respectively, for girls' belts. In making them, again two sticks are used, around which the cotton threads are wound. The resultant layer is divided into 6-8 equally thick bundles, each of which is wound with a cotton thread in the manner shown in Fig. 8a-c, and in this way the bunches of warp threads are held together. In other words, the longitudinal threads are held side by side by means of cross-bindings. The distance between these weft-threads is 2.5-3 centimeters for the belts of young women and

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweteri

292 /30 cont./
284 girls and 0.5 centimeter for those of old women. This distin-
guishing feature was always pointed out to me. Tie strings and
292 the wearing style correspond in this case too with the men's belts,
53 as does the painting with urucú, which is applied on the outer
[386] side. As a result of their width, these belts are much easier to
paint than those of the men. Most often one sees serpentine lines,
occasionally circles are placed between them, and sometimes too
the painting only consists of circles, or circles and dots (Fig.
9 a-e; Fig. 10 a-d); there are also belts, however, which are
colored red all over.

292 ! Xiriána women who are married to Surára and Pakidái
184 men wear the same belts, as did the little captive of the Surára,
Nikeromá, from the hostile tribe of the /31/ /Figs. 8 and 9 ap-
pear here/ /32/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ Karauaterí (Ills. 17 and
[192] 18). When I asked them the name of their belts, they gave me
the designation -- nyõ -- which corresponds to the Surára and
Pakidái word.

292 The Puseheweteri women gave me the same word, although
184 their belts have a somewhat different form (161). They are 60-
[192]

161. I saw them on the women of that tribe
who were married to Surára and Pakidái men.

70 centimeters long and consist solely of a thick layer of cotton
292 which has been somewhat twisted together. In other words, it is
284 a very characteristic string-belt, that is, without wrappings or
184 cross-bindings. An additional little fringed apron, however, 22-
26 centimeters long, is attached to a tie-string. To make it, 60 to
90 cotton strings, 14-18 centimeters long, are put over the tie-
string. After that, starting from the left, the end of the first
string hanging down in front is knotted with the one of the second
hanging down in back and tightly twisted with it, then the front
end of the second one with the rear end of the third, and so
forth. The fringes hanging down are 7-9 centimeters long and,
to assure firmness, are wound once more below the tie-string
292 with a thin cotton thread. When the belt is worn, the little
53
184

[text continues on p. 69]

2: Becher--68 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

292
284

Fig. 8a-b. Part of a women's belt.

Fig. 8c. Part of a women's belt, diagram.

292
531

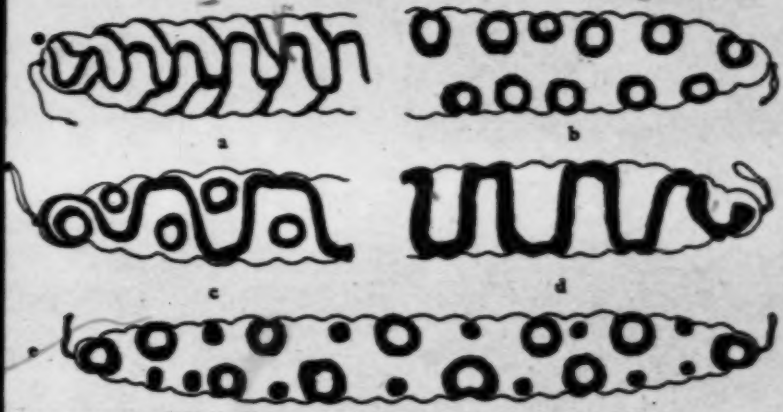


Fig. 9a-e. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts.

Puseheweterí
Surára,
Karimé

/32 cont./

292
531

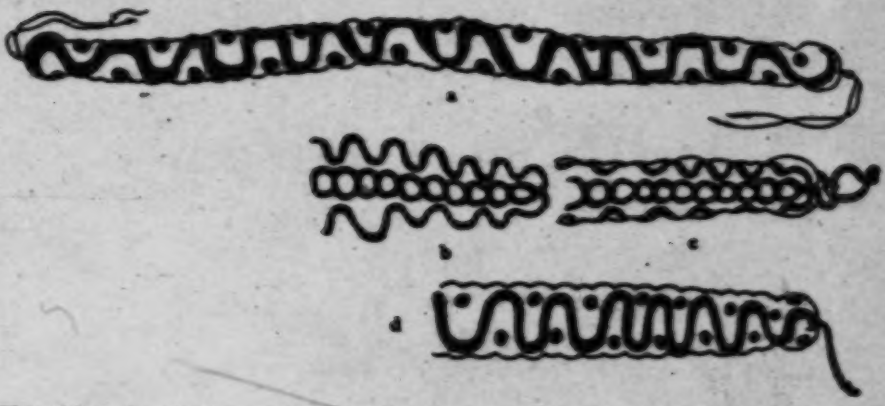

Fig. 10 a-d. Various paintings from women's and girls' belts. /On p. 131 this caption is given as "Various paintings from men's and young men's belts."/

531
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184 fringed apron rests directly over the pubic region (Ill. 15). These belts,
including the little aprons, are as a rule dyed with urucú. It should
292 also be pointed out that younger Puseheweterí women usually adorn
531 the two ends of the little apron with small feathers of the toucan
237 (Rhamphastus sp.), mutum (Crax sp.), and inambé azul (Cotinga
184 cayana L.) fastened to a string. Older Puseheweterí women, on the other hand, always have hanging on the ends of the little apron eight to twelve mussel shells, 2-3 centimeters long and pierced on one side, which, when the wearers walk, beat together and make a soft jangling noise (Fig. 11).

292 Exactly the same belt with fringed apron is documented by
184 Salathé for the Karimé women, and from his statements it is to be seen further that the men also wear it, though without the pubic covering (162).

162. Salathé, 1931/32, p. 305 and Fig. 13a, b.

It should be mentioned that a few Surára women, following the example of their Puseheweterí sisters, have likewise fastened such a fringed apron to a tie-string of their plaited belts. In this the mixture of two cultural elements can be seen especially clearly.

Puseheweteri
surara

/32 cont./

292
531
237

Fig. 11 Fringed belt of an old Puseheweteri woman, with pierced mussel shells.

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462
237

Finally, the Surára also use a child's belt -- yaoké -- which is always made by the father /33/ out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.) -- yaó. These belts are 30-35 centimeters long and 2-2.5 centimeters wide. One end is pierced to receive a thin tie-string of cotton or curauá fibers. The string is wound around the other end several times and then knotted (Fig. 12). This belt, too, is worn in such a way that it is open in front. Only now and then is it put on small boys and girls between 1-3 years old, who at that age, of course, do not even wear the hip cord (see p. 60), in order to promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

284

Surára
Shiriana

/33 cont./

291
237

Fig. 12. Child's belt made out of the skin of the maracajá (Felis pardalis Neuw.).

promote their physical strength and growth. /34/

292
171

From the above description of the cotton string-belts it may be seen that, in spite of certain differences with respect to technique and the way they are worn, they resemble the corresponding belts of the Xiriâna and several Karaiben tribes of Guiana. Thus, a bundle of red-dyed cotton strings serves as a hip belt for the Xiriâna men, under which they wedge the preputium of the upraised penis (163). Arekunâ men often wear

163. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 306.

a plaited string-belt of cotton, which, twisted together, takes on a sausage shape. This belt, also resembling in appearance the human- and monkey-hair belts in Guiana (164) (165), is

164. Becher, 1951, pp. 99 ff. and pp. 115 ff.

165. Becher, 1955, pp. 84 ff. and pp. 97 ff.

Surara
Pakidai

/34 cont./

292
171

mentioned by Martius (166), Richard Schomburgk (167), and Koch-

166. Martius, 1867, pp. 622/23.

167. Richard Schomburgk, 1848, p. 239.

Grünberg (168). Ule, shows in an illustration of two Arekuná men,

168. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 41.

shows how it is worn (169). It can be seen there that they use the

169. Ule, 1913, p. 283, Ill. 2.

belt for fastening their pubic apron, to which Appun likewise calls attention (170). Moreover, the cotton string-belt is documented

170. Appun, 1871, II, p. 307.

for the male Makuxí /Macusi/ (171) and for the Maionkong /Maioncon/,

171. Koch-Grünberg, 1917, p. 77.

where it is worn by men (172) and women (173).

172. Rice, 1928, p. 220, illustration.

173. Stevens, 1926, p. 401, illustration.

The plaited, wide, flat women's belt of the Surára and Pakidái, however, also has its prototype among the Makuxí, where, to be sure, men wear it. Roth describes how it is made as follows: "The Makusi will plait a thick cotton cord upon two arrow thicks, and when completed will bend it twice upon itself in three equal parts and, by sewing, maintain it in this position to form what is now a broad flat belt" /cited in English/ (174).

174. Roth, 1924, p. 440.

/34 cont./

292 171 The neighboring Wapixana /Wapishana/ men (Aruak) /Arawak/, moreover, wear a very similar belt and attach to it a pubic band which is drawn between the legs (175).

175. Farabee, 1918, p. 29.

[648] [179] Since the Surára and Pakidái waged many wars with the Makuxí (the father of the Surára chief Hewemão is even supposed to have been killed by a Makuxí warrior), it would be entirely possible that they took over from this Karaiben /Carib/ tribe the form of the plaited, wide, flat belt, but then used it, not as men's, but as women's clothing.

179 292 171 184 The little fringed apron so typical for the Puseheweterí and Karimé women was also surely copied from Karaiben models, which, in turn, could have been borrowed from the Aruak, for Farabee confirms it also for Wapixana and Mapidian /Maopityan/ girls (176). According to Roth, a woven, red-dyed belt, the lower

292 171

176. Farabee, 1918, Pl. XXIX, A.

edge of which is fringed and, in addition, provided with three pendant tassels, is tied around young Makuxí and Wapixana girls on the occasion of their first menstruation. He designates this article of clothing as "apron belt" /cited in English/ (177). A

177. Roth, 1924, p. 437.

dyed belt provided with fringe is likewise documented for the Maiongkong (178) (179) and, /35/ according to Roth, resembles

178. R. H. Schomburgk, 1841, p. 215.

179. Richard Schomburgk, 1847, pp. 402/03.

000 the above-mentioned apron-belt (180). When Koch-Grünberg saw

180. Roth, 1924, p. 444.

Surára
Pakidái
Puseheweterí

292 /35 cont./ when Koch-Grünberg saw
174 Xiriána women dressed in a little fringed apron (181), he had
179

181. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305 and Plates 45, 48 (4, 5).

reason to suspect that they may have taken over and preserved the ancient dress of the Maiongkong (Yekuaná) women. Thus, he writes: "They, too, were surely not originally peculiar to these Indians, for some of them wore the little apron up on their stomachs, on others it had slipped down halfway to the knees" (182).

182. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 305, footnote 1, and p. 306.

Comparative investigations show that the cotton belts of the Surára, Pakidái, and Puseheweterí reached them from the outside, that is, directly from the Karaiben or by way of the Xiriána (183), along with cotton. With regard to the way they

183. According to Métraux, the Xiriána took over their dress from the Karaiben (Métraux, 1948, p. 863).

291 with regard to the way they
292 were worn and the use they were put to, however, there followed
174 a transformation process, which is very informative. That is, when, on the basis of the statements in the literature, I had traced in my dissertation all the motives that might have induced the South American primitive peoples to tie on belts and hip cords, the result was as follows: "It has been possible to prove that the idea of adornment plays only a secondary role, as does the magical motive. The feeling of modesty is entirely eliminated as a cause, and also verification for a sexual stimulus is lacking. On the other hand, the investigations show that the belts and hip cords primarily have the purpose of protecting the genital organs from insects, thorns, etc. (as a holding device for the upward-placed penis, the uluri, the pubic aprons, etc.)" (184) (185).

184. Becher, 1951, p. 192.
185. Becher, 1955, p. 153.

/35 cont./

291 On the basis of my field work, however, I have reached different conclusions with respect to the Surára, Pakidái, Puseheweteri, Aramamesteri, Xiriána, and Karauateri. Protection of the genital organs is completely eliminated for the women of these tribes, and for the men it is at most of secondary, if not tertiary importance. The thin hip-cord gives them, in fact, the same outward security that the article of clothing gives the civilized person. Though nothing is covered by it, except the glans penis, the absence of it immediately arouses a feeling of modesty in them, which, however, differs from that which has been instilled in us in that it has nothing to do with their nakedness. Clothing, shirts and trousers which I brought along as gifts, was donned by them, to be sure, as a joke, in somewhat the way we might dress up for a carnival, but they were glad when they could take it off again. Yet these Indians never showed the least shyness or embarrassment before me in their unclothed state, and when I had won their friendship and convinced them of the harmlessness of my photographic equipment, men, women, and children let themselves be photographed in relaxed and natural poses.

291 123

● 292 In contrast to the important hip-cord, the belts of the Surára and Pakidái are expressly ornamental objects. Since they are worn not only for festivals, however, but also on all ceremonial occasions, magical motives may likewise play a part. At the same time, they are a distinguishing mark for specific tribes and age classes. They differ from all the other belts of South American Indians, as do the men's belts of the Waiká (186) (187), in that they are open in front

186. Zerries, 1955b, colored picture on jacket and photograph on p. 663, lower left.

187. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, top.

[114] and positively accentuate the pubic parts. Thus, they seem to represent striking evidence for the view of Brosse (188) and

188. Grosse, 1894, p. 96.

/35 cont./

292 Westermarck (189), who regard the belts as a sexual stimulus,
114

189. Westermarcj, 1901, pp. 195/96, 211.

by means of which the eyes are supposed to be drawn to the pubic parts. For the Surára and Pakidái, however, /36/ this hypothesis does not apply, in spite of their open belts, for the naked body does not provide any sensual stimulation for them, but rather solely the sexual act. According to Krause, among the Karajá /Caraja/ the feeling of modesty of the girls is supposed to have led to the development of the types of belts. As evidence for this, he gives the following observation: "Women never removed or changed their bands in our presence, and small girls from whom I bought belts went behind the nearest mat wall in order to put on a new one there before they brought
291 me the worn belt" (190). My experiences among the Surára
123

190. Krause, 1911, pp. 208/09.

and Pakidái were the same with respect to the hip cords, among men as well as among women and children, but they always untied their belts without shyness and gave them to me in exchange
292 for trade goods. This was also true of the Puseheweterí women,
184 which shows that their little fringed aprons do not represent, say, a pubic covering, but merely ornamentation. Moreover, they also tie on their belts only for festive occasions.

291 The situation with respect to the children's belt made of the
171 skin of the maracajá is unique. It should be noted, however, that in Guiana, one of the chief South American areas of distribution of the skin belt (191) (192), specimens made of jaguar skin have

191. Becher, 1951, I, p. 82; II, plate and Map No. 4.

192. Becher, 1955, p. 72.

301 /36 cont./ Even the younger women, however, have
852 the idea that by occasionally wearing it they can preserve their
[824] busts, especially if the cord was made of the original material,
curauá fibers. On the other hand, the chest cord and the string
●292 bundle, which is worn only during festivals and on the occasion
of ceremonial acts, are regarded as ornamental objects and
insignia of two age classes.

301 The women of the Xiriána, Puseheweterí, Aramamesterí,
184 and Karauaterí whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and
Pakidái also wore such cords and string bundles, to be sure, but
[114] said that they were not used in their tribes. This also explains
why Koch-Grünberg did not mention such articles when he
301 described the dress of the Xiriána (Schirianá). Among the Arekuná-
171 Taulipang, on the other hand, he saw as festival ornaments for
women and men long chains /37/ /Fig. 13 appears here/ of
white beads and brown seeds, which they had slung crosswise in
many windings over the chest and back (196) (197). Aside from

196. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 37.

197. Koch-Grünberg, 1923b, Plates 15, 45, 62, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100, 102, and 107.

the additional ornamental material used, these chains differ from the cords and string bundles described above in the way they are worn, for they reach much farther down.

301 One thus gains the impression that in the case of the chest
174 cord of curauá fibers used by the Surára and Pakidái women it is
a very primitive object from which the string bundle was developed
after the introduction of cotton. This, in turn, could have been
borrowed by Karaiben tribes, perhaps during war contacts, and
[191] transformed by them into a long ornamental chain. The former
is, to be sure, also slung crosswise, but the original meaning, the
enhancement of the breast form, was lost, which may also be
deduced from the fact that among the Arekuná-Taulipang even
men tie such an ornamental chain around themselves.

/64 cont./
553 776 [782] high mountain ridges -- hekurá --, who represent the intermediaries to Poré and Perimbó, the joint Supreme Being of these Indians (see pp.197/199). The particular animal or plant whose name a child bears is regarded as a sort of "spiritus familiaris" [777] throughout its life. This is linked to the idea that the fate of the child has now become identical in essence with them; that is to say, good fortune, but also the suffering and dying of animals and plants are transferred to the like-named human beings.

553 114 191 The use of animal names corresponds to the nagualistic ideas and customs which Eduard Seler mentions in his monograph /65/ on Michuacan /Michoacán/ (326), while plant names are

326. Seler, 1908, pp. 104/05.

also included under the same aspect by the Surára and Pakidái. The name "nagual," according to Seler, is derived from the Aztec word naualli = disguise (327). In place of nagualism, however, the

327. Seler, 1904, pp. 75/76.

technical term "tonalism" may also be used (Aztec tonalli = someone's destiny, fate, soul, spirit...) (328).

328. Haekel, 1958, p. 45.

553 302 [412] [824] On the day of the name-giving the children are given a tonsure such as is worn by all adults of both sexes. It is shaved off with the sharpened side of a split piece of reed (taquara -- Guadua sp.). Simultaneously they are attired for the first time in 553 291 the hip cord of cotton or plant fibers, which they may then never remove up to the end of their lives, not even while bathing or during sleep. The cord must, of course, be renewed occasionally, but this is done in all secrecy. At the time of the donning of the hip cord by little boys, the penis is tied up, with the preputium held fast under [834] the cord by means of a loop (Ill. 22). From now on the penis must no longer hang down, for this would be an offense against good form. On festive occasions a belt of cotton is also tied around [292] children (See pp. 64ff.).

/105 cont./

769 in the ear lobes were adorned with colorful feather ornaments
[302] (see pp. 93/95). Moreover, they had all glued into their hair
[301] the white down feathers of the gavião-real (Thrasaetus harpyia L.),
the dreaded carrier of sickness (see p. 211) (Ill. 43). They
769 made mighty leaps, then bent their knees, turned around
535 several times in between, threw their arrows into the air and
533 caught them again. After that they fell into a dance in step,
during which they sang. But this dance was constantly interrupted by wild charges and rousing shouts, which were supposed to drive the nonexí out of the maloka and show them how dangerous it was to come here at all. The others present were enthusiastically watching this performance from their hearths. For the
[302] occasion of the festival all the men, women, and children had
[292] likewise painted themselves and in part donned the cotton belts;
[301] moreover, the men wore their upper-arm ornaments of feathers (Ills. 9-11).

769 After this two-hour dance performance a particularly solemn ceremony took place, the blessing of the preserved bone ashes of deceased tribesmen. For this purpose two leading personalities of each of the two tribes sat down in a square formation before the chief's hut. The Surára chief Hewemão was squatting in such a way that he faced the maloka courtyard. To the right and left of him, somewhat to the side and forward, squatted the Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, and Hewemão's brother, Kurikayawõ, respectively, and opposite Hewemão, Porêhiwõ, the war chief of the Pakidái, had his place. In front of the latter were arranged ten small jamaru vessels (jamaru = Cucurbita idolatrica Lacerda) filled with bone ashes. Behind them stood one empty gourd bowl and one filled with urucú. The Pakidái chief, Karenauõ, on the other hand, had two large empty jamaru vessels standing in front of him.

Porêhiwõ now poured bone ashes from one after another of the small jamaru vessels into the empty gourd bowls, added a little urucú, mixed the two with his hands, and gave the bowl to Karenauõ, who each time poured the contents into one of the
[782] larger jamaru vessels. While the two Pakidái were silently per-
[788] forming their work, Hewemão was praying in a half-singing

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica



Barker told us that it was no more than a temporary stopping-place on one of the jungle trails, no family ever remaining for more than a week. And so we found on our various return visits. The inhabitants were always different and their numbers varied considerably. Barker could not tell us how frequently these villages occur in the forests. He said he had been to only one other during his seven months' stay.

Every home possesses two or three calabashes, gourds and baskets, all dyed with ochre and some decorated with macaw or toucan feathers. All such objects of daily use have loops of string tied to them by which they can be hung from the hut's roof. Each family also has its little knives of capybara teeth. Firesticks are kept carefully packed away to keep them dry during disuse, as fire is always available from glowing embers that are never allowed to go out. We saw a number of baskets which women carry on their backs, but could not discover what they were used to carry—probably household utensils in the course of their journeyings. I could find no Waïka musical instrument, but in one hut, the only one with no hammock in it, I came across a sort of fibre cape hanging from a beam. As this was the only garment of any sort that I saw, it may well have been a ritual robe.

In every house there was at least one fire, and joints of unskinned peccary and branches of green bananas hung from many rafters. In an unornamented earthenware jar shaped like a bell we saw a peccary's head boiling whole with all its hair and skin. In another hut a child was eating a small alligator which had been grilled on the embers.

The Waïkas do not know salt and spat out the little we gave them in disgust. We thought that perhaps the huge quid of tobacco which the men, women and children keep under their lower lips might perhaps compensate for this deficiency. As with the Guaharibos, the women make up the quids every morning, impregnating them with their own saliva before passing them on to their mates.

Barker said he had never known Waïkas to build or use any sort of river-craft—not even a raft. He told us that the